[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
they keep the ornaments and mementos of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hw[illegible] I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has described them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal animals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g, yaṅ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g, yaṅ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although various animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

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If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yãñsdzia: It bears within it the germs and origins of the gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings are allied more with heaven (are

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[Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.] Mongols and Tangut. According to the informant, a day in the sixth month is always chosen, but it does not always have to be the sixth day. It is the time at which formerly the obos were erected, and it seems to be a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowa-

[178]

days these festivals have more or less degenerated into a Chinese commercial racket, as has, for instance, the festival in the New Year's month at Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is really a Tujen festival. Only the horse racing and the singing of songs have remained from olden times.

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Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass, trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil) and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves become too destructive. He can keep them in check.

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The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peaceful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they surrender them to the mountain-spirit.

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The mountain-spirit is given something from everything that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

[823 cont.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

241 789 791 778 When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

[782] First the men make the great incense offering, which is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." [825] Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the extra features, before the pole. [782] A great incense offering and frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony.

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

241 789 791 In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then [782] all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other occasions. [264]

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
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[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

[533] The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[782] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[791] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.
[791]

241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
778 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
● 825 the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and
[787] the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.
778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujen

[532] The weather-torma: The Bon priest
[791] meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.
[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[787] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]

Magic dagger,
wooden peg, mpuru.
(From t[illegible]rawing of a
Tujen.)

[828 cont.]

241 789 791 782 The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 789 776 825 821 Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The goat has special protective power because its head serves as an anvil for the god Dăntsien Sañ. He is the smith in the weather ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,

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5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Dăntsañ (Dăntsien Sañ) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

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[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 829-830 cont.] him in the monastery Rgulõn and that he is a tutelary god of the Bon. Dăntsien is evidently a Tujen corruption of the Tibetan dam-can, "keeping a vow" (cf. Ch. Das, p. 618). This is only a general title which could be applied to many gods. According to Grünwedel (Mythologie, pp. 187 ff.), Ch. Das (p. 618), and others, however, it refers to the Lamaistic terror-god rDo-rje-legs (pa), who rides on a goat (ram) and [830] was elevated to the tutelary lord (Dharmapāla) of the doctrine. H. Hoffmann denies that he is a Tantristic god and wants to designate him as an old Bon god, in which he is correct,as the ceremony described here indicates. He then continues (Quellen [Sources], p. 164): "There is an interesting statement by Jäschke, as yet unconfirmed, according to which Rdor-legs ... was an honorable village smith. ... At any rate it is noteworthy that Waddell also speaks of a 'demon blacksmith' [cited in English]." These surmises can now be confirmed by the ceremony of the pole-goat and the tradition connected with it. The dam-can is a smith-god of the Bon and stands in a special relationship to the weather conjuration and to the goat cult which, after all, likewise belongs to the realm of the Bon or is at least pre-Buddhistic. (Cf. the old name of Lhasa, which was originally called Ra-sa, Goat-place, and had a temple of the same name.)

[828 cont.]

241 during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to
789 earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune
821 befalls the seed and human beings (6).

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6. [Foreign text p. 830.] Weather magic plays an important role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

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Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

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2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzẽn sawa bi pẽŋgẽ, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not [621] be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[832 cont.]

241 782 [825] [621] Such families, however, must make their contribution. The main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the [202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

241 782 783 Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

241 782 787 Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 782 231 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.

3; Schröder - 248 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor: tōrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.

624 Trumpet: dõṅ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.

794 Cymbals: nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; 534 rēbuoǧē (?).

ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.

Flags: ch'i-tzu (Chin.).

Books: luān = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.

Book-bearers: luān rēgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

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VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

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[Note on foreign text p. 842 cont.]
with which then the performance is likewise supervised.

into the spear, and one asks him, for instance, "Shall we consecrate an animal?" He answers, "Yes." "Do you want a goat, a hen, a horse?" [840] "No." "Do you want a sheep?" "Yes." "Shall we consecrate it to a god?" "No." "Shall we consecrate it to the sky?" "Yes."

Then the soothsayer sets the spear aside. Hastily the people run to fetch a sheep. They bring it into the yard, because one consecrates an animal to the sky only out in the open. A man holds in his hand a little plate with barley; on top of this he places a narrow red band. He stands next to the soothsayer, who again has invoked the god and amidst spear shaking supervises the action. Now once more there is an interrogation, during which one determines when the consecration is to be renewed.

The sheep is then washed from head to foot with pure water. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from the little plate with the tip of the spear and throws them into the [783] incense, which is burned throughout the ceremony. Another puts some of the incense in a hollow tile and fumigates the sheep all around. Then he pours a bowl of milk over the animal's neck, back, and head. All the men kneel around the sheep in a circle, and when it shakes itself they make a threefold kowtow, for the sky has accepted the animal. The soothsayer sets the spear aside.

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Now one takes the red band from the little plate, holds it in the incense, ties it in the wool on the sheep's shoulder, and lets the sheep run free. It may run where it will, for it belongs to the sky.

Each year this sacred sheep is again brought here in the first month from the first to the fifteenth day. Then the consecration is renewed in similar fashion before the spirit-spear and a new band is tied in the wool.

[841 cont.]
778 is never women, however. It is true that a single woman may
562 promise an animal, for example, but in such a case other men, such as the mother's brother, undertake the interrogation and consecration. This may be done in the house of the woman.

778 Animals: As consecration-animals the following are per-
825 missible: horses, mules, asses, cows, sheep, goats, and even
[783] hens; pigs or dogs are never taken because they are unclean. In the case of all these animals, age, color, sex, or castration plays no role. White or male animals are not especially pre-
[178] ferred. Large animals are no longer consecrated now, because the Tujen no longer have the large herds and are too poor. Usually one promises sheep and goats. Hens are frequently chosen because they are the cheapest (2).

2. [Foreign text pp. 842-843.] In the Tujen monastery Rgulon the choice of animals is different. A lama and a shaman related: one never consecrates dogs, and no hens, [843] only cocks, but these in all colors. Of the horses one takes only stallions; they must be black with a white spot on the forehead or grey (ch'ing-ma) of black-white mixed color. Of the mules one takes only females, no male animals. Their color is a bright reddish-brown. Belly, mouth, and eye-rings should be light. Of ordinary cattle and yaks one takes only black steers that have a white spot on the forehead; similarly among the sheep only black rams, flawless and with circular or doubly curled horns. -- I also saw such animals there in the monastery. The consecrated mule was especially beautiful; it looked almost exactly like a wild

3; Schröder--252 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Morguor AE9

[841 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]
chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

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The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

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A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

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[841 cont.]

778 Regardless of how the animal lost its life, its flesh may never be
825 eaten.

Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away,
[262] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery
[432] where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are
[422] then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested
[787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance,
[776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rguloñ each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

[171] It could not be discovered which gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lò-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

½ [Lit - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249 - ANALYST]

[842 cont.]
778 -- The name of the animals, however, is not taken from the
[825] deity concerned, but from the consecration band. Thus, the animals are called consecrated horse, consecrated sheep, etc. The Chinese say "sacred horse," "sacred sheep," etc.

Consecration bands: The bands are simply called "the consecrated." Although all the sacred colors are permissible, red or yellow is preferred for them. It does not matter where the band comes from or what material it is made of. Hada strips, pieces of clothing, wool or silk threads, anything is permitted. The size varies, but on the average it is an ell long and two fingers wide.

The band is supposed to be tied on the front part of the body and on the upper half of the animal, for instance, on the mane, forelock, or shoulder. In the case of hens one slings it around the neck. If the animal loses the band, it is not replaced. -- One can also tear off a band from the spirit-spear, from the spirit-litter, etc. In that case, however, it must later be replaced. Nevertheless these bands are not especially fumigated; they are already pure through their earlier designation (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 843-844.]
There are two names for the bands on the consecrated animal, which are valid both before the consecration and after the consecration. The one is the name šdien, exactly as
[192] for the bands on the consecrated spirit-seats (spirit-spear, -table, -litter). But whereas in that case one can call the object together with the bands šdien, here the animal together with the band is never called šdien,
[825] but only the band alone, an indication that the consecrated animal is not regarded as possessed by the spirit.

[842 cont.]

Word List

Consecration-band: sdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.
To tie on the consecration-band: sdier fuya-.
The consecration-animal: sdier.
Sacred horse: sdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).
Sacred sheep: sdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).
Sacred goat: sdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[844 cont.]
789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
791 soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
756 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
[783] dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as unclean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating, are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unimportant.

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789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
[484] in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[415] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color), a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads), tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[849 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 850 cont.] and to the demon-escort. I could not ascertain from the notes whether the Bon priest touches the sick person with the figures and thus transfers the sickness to them, as is the case with the shamanistic figure-conjuration. Cf. the following chapter, Note 5.

Word List

192
784 Figure-litter: šergundi; made up of šẽ (Tib.) = demon,
[778] rẽgun = nine (Tib.); ndi (Tib.?) = complete (3) (5).

3. [Foreign text p. 850.] This explanation by the informant is uncertain.

5. [Foreign text p. 850.] šergundi: Tibetan bse = demon, dgu = nine, k'ri (pronounced thi) = litter. Meaning: nine-demons' litter. -- šbawog: Tibetan sbal (pronounced bal) = toad, frog; nag = black (Unkrig).

[741] Bon priest: xuãndzie (xuãndie).
[778] Demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.).
[825] Sheep: xoni.
Goat: imã.
Hen: tagu.
Pig: xge.
Dog: nogue (noxue).
Snake: mogue.
Frog: šbawog (5) [see Note 5 above].
Horse: mori.
Cattle: ulã.

[217 cont.]

771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Wei-yüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god [821] of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven."

a) The Name "Heaven"

rëġuo

772 776 192 [821] For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, rëġuo and tieńgëre. The word rëġuo is little used and then only in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent oktarġui, which is to be equated with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarġui, there is none in which oktarġui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieńgëre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, reġuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuġuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuġuo rëġuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuġuo rëġuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the [825] [539] xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to

[218 cont.]

772 each of them as a symbol of brightness and of darkness. Thus,
776 in a wedding song it is said: xara gadzier mundzini xela; kuğuo
192 rĕğuoni dzindzini xela (the black earth's dark bird calls; the
[825] light sky's light bird answers). Here, it is true, the rĕğuo has
[539] been drawn into the -- probably Tibetan -- mythology of light and darkness, but nothing concerning a possible significance of the rĕğuo as spirit or deity is expressed by it. (Cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder.") Even if the expression rĕğuo in its meaning as light-bearer corresponds approximately to the word tieńgĕre, its deeper meaning is thereby exhausted and it will not be considered further.

tieńgĕre

772 tieńgĕre is the Tujen form of the written Mongolic
776 tengri or tngri. It may signify both the natural sky as well as
192 heaven as a deity. As natural sky it is provided with the same
821 adjectives as the word rĕğuo, in other words, with kuğuo (blue), undur (high), etc. Like the latter, it also, as the daylight sky, stands in contrast to the dark earth. Our expression "heaven and earth" is always rendered among the Tujen by kuğuo tieńgĕre, xara gadzier (light sky, dark earth). They would never [219] simply say "heaven and earth." In this conception, the Tujen go hand in hand with their Altaic-Mongolic relatives. In his dissertation, Pallisen has presented the connection of light and heaven especially clearly: Among all Altaic peoples the sky is primarily perceived as the daylight sky. According to H. Vambéry and Barbier de Maynard, the concepts "the light," "brightness" in all Altaic languages belong to the same word family as tengri (Religion der Altmongolen [Religion of the Ancient Mongols], p. 123). Pallisen then appends the word lists for 13 languages, which are intended to illustrate this connection (op. cit., pp. 123 ff.).

The sky, however, is regarded not only as the embodiment of light, but it is also the bearer of the most important cosmic phenomena. This is expressed in many everyday phrases, for example: the sky rains; the sky is cold; the sky is hot; the sky thunders; the sky is cheerful, etc. Hence,

[225 cont.]

782 more suitable for heaven (8). The relationship to the supreme

[823]
[773]

8. Above all the rising smoke connects this offering to heaven; the expression ġarġa, to make rise, is especially to be noted here. The smoke is like a living column of heaven or a living road to heaven. The shamanistic significance of the incense offering comes from this; not only promotes the trance, but is at the same time the path and motive power of the journey to heaven. The first emperor of the Geser legend demands, for instance, that during his journey to heaven the incense offering not be interrupted; the rising smoke strikes against the gate of heaven and opens the entrance for him, and he shoots his incompetent companion on the tip of his arrow into the rising column of smoke, in which he descends to earth.

[756]

[773]

being is also expressed, for example, in the wedding songs from Khalatse (western Tibet). There, according to Francke, op. cit., pp. 25 f., it is said: "This blue smoke that rises upward signifies that no trouble will arise with brGya-byin, the lord of the gods."

The Sheep Offering

[825] The sheep as a sacrificial animal, according to the material available, is reserved in a special way for heaven and the mountain-spirit, even though it may also be offered to the other gods. It is never offered to the mountain-spirit alone without heaven, however. There are sheep offerings [241] that apply only to heaven, namely at the sowing and harvest

[246 cont.]

171 756 page 277, he goes into greater detail regarding the interpretation of these figures: "In the grim faces ... the demoniacal power of these armored knights ... is well represented. The helmet-mask is formed by a bird's head with a strong flavor of the Indian Garuda ... a shawl is elegantly draped around the shoulders, and tied in a knot over the chest, the two iron breastplates being visible beneath it" [cited in English]. -- In other words, the same type of warrior as in the case of the gurtum is involved: with helmet, weapons, shoulder hanging, demon battle, etc. -- Certainly further evidence for ancient China could be cited, say, in conjunction with the recent publications of C. Hentze. -- Likewise such types may be demonstrable for India, Indonesia, and the ancient Near East in connection with the ancient Iranian warrior gods and the corresponding figures in Hinduism, Indra, Shiva, etc.; in this connection cf. R. Bleichstein (based on Grünwedel), op. cit., pp. 111-124.

174 756 825 [773] Warrior shaman and bird. -- The connections between bird and shamanism are stressed often enough in the literature. The bird type of shaman is one of the basic types. Usually, the original ancestor of the shaman, or the first shaman, is a bird or incarnated in a bird. The heroes of the folktales, however, are also often linked with a bird ancestor. For instance, the Geser of the Tujen is supposed to have been sent to earth as a cuckoo. If this relationship applies generally, then the warrior-shaman in particular can be linked with the bird figure. There has been an attempt to show that his armor goes back to the feather armor, in other words, to the shaman attire of the bird type. I cannot go further into the sources here. The feather helmet of the ancient Chinese shaman mentioned by B. Laufer and the feather-ornamented helmet of the gNas-c'uń gurtum, as well as the report by Georgi in his "Alphabetum Tibetanum," point in this direction.

174 756 [247] This connection between warrior and bird only becomes meaningful if one understands it as a solarization of the ancestor hero. Both the mythologies of the most ancient Chinese excavations (cf. the works by C. Hentze) and the

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

villages neighboring the Monguors? This assumption, it seems, should be considered because of the fact that so many Chinese who use the formula are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and that so many Monguors who have lost their identity to the extent of having lost their own language, and being ashamed to assert their Monguor origin, boast of being Chinese, and of belonging to a more civilized culture.[25]

XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

SACRED ANIMALS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES

Monguors do not honor the "spirit of Heaven" as a family deity nor do they perform, at present, bloody or non-bloody sacrifices to Heaven. Non-bloody sacrifices, in which the animal is not killed but allowed to wander at will, are a real economic sacrifice because the animal cannot be sold or put to profitable use; but this practice does not really fit the frame of an agricultural economy because the sacred animals cause a lot of damage in the fields. It even happens, as has been noted, that persons are injured and killed by sacred bulls. No wonder that the Chinese, devoted to agriculture, do not practice this rite in China. The Monguors, however, are very fond of the rite, which originated in the nomadic economy, and this fact betrays the original economy in which their ancestors lived.

Almost every Monguor family has its own consecrated animal, which usually is a female sheep—seldom a ram.

On the third day of the New Year, the animal is led into the courtyard. The whole family is in a hustle and bustle washing the feet and the fleece of the animal, and devotedly combining the fleece. Never before has the animal enjoyed such a fine appearance. The sheep is led into the living room before the picture of the deity protector of the family. All the members of the family kneel devoutly with burning incense sticks in their joined hands. They look on with feverish anxiety as the chief of the family pours milk, mixed with water, first on the head of the animal, then into its ears. The sheep frantically shakes its head and at that very moment the whole family starts prostrating itself three times toward the picture of the deity and then toward the animal, smiling, crying with happy enjoyment *"ling liao"* ("the deity accepts our offer"). Thus, the animal is supposed to be consecrated. The family are in a happy mood, with a gleam in their eyes, for the deity will protect the cattle. The more frantically the sheep shakes its head, the better it augurs for the future.

The incense sticks are planted before the picture of the deity honored in the family and the chief of the family and all its members attach red and yellow ribbons

[25] Schröder, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'u-jen im Sining-Gebiet, *Anthropos* 37–40: 867, 1952.

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to the ears of the sheep and all over its fleece. Everybody endeavors to attach a couple of ribbons.

The sheep will join the herd as before; its wool will be sheared twice a year, as is done for the other sheep, but it will never be killed and will be allowed to die naturally. If it dies during the year, next New Year's another one will be consecrated and will take its place, for every family has to have its sacred animal.

But what if the sheep does not shake its head? This is conclusive proof that the deity is angry and ill disposed toward the family. Dread and terror instantly show upon their faces. All the members of the family, startled and panic stricken, look at one another distressed, dejected, and in deep gloom, for everybody feels that this fact bodes ill for the future. Bowing their heads to the ground and lifting their hearts in humble entreaty, they beg pardon and ask the deity to overlook their offences, to accept the offer. Then milk is poured again, and if the sheep still obstinately refuses to shake its head, it is finally removed.

Then, in the living room, the situation is examined to be sure the predicament is of their own making. Maybe they had been too remiss in honoring the deity; maybe the spirit does not like the discord and resentment reigning in the family; maybe the deity wants a more valuable sacrifice? After renewed prostrations and promises for the future, the conclusion is always that the only hope remaining is to consecrate a more valuable animal, a young female mule, for they know that it is impossible to get around the spirit and defy it with impunity, and that anybody who tampers with its plans is riding for a fall.

The female mule is led into the courtyard and washed; tail and mane are combed. Two red hot stones are dropped in a utensil containing boiling water, which is adjusted under the nose of the animal so that the vapors may enter the nostrils, purifying the animal interiorly, as it has been cleansed exteriorly. The animal is led through the door of the living room, and in front of the picture of the deity. Milk, mixed with water, is poured on its head and in its ears—the head shakes. Ribbons are attached on mane and tail. The animal will be used in the same way as other animals, but never will it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death.

The Monguors whom I asked for explanations always replied in the same way, that the rite is always performed only on the third of the New Year, by the head of the family, without Red or Yellow lamas or shamans; that the animal is always consecrated to the guardian deity of the family, inside the living room, in front of the picture of the guardian deity. Because the "spirit of Heaven" or "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored as family protectors, the animal is never consecrated to the "spirit of Heaven" or to "Heaven and all the spirits."

If it happens that the family spirits are the spirits of the mountains, the rite is always performed in the

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

same way in the living room, never outside. They said that the aim of the rite is to obtain blessings upon the cattle and their reproduction, and that therefore gelded or old animals are never used. The custom excludes the use of donkeys, hogs, hens, and dogs. Custom does not allow the family to sell or to eat its sacred animal. They all said that the rite was never performed because persons in the family were smitten with severe diseases, or calamities had overcome the family, since other specific rites exist to obviate these miseries. The rite is only intended for the reproduction of animals and to give thanks for blessings upon them. They also said that the staff spirit was never consulted when a new animal had to take the place of the former. The shaking of the head of the animal, when milk mixed with water was poured upon its head and in its ears, was sufficient evidence that the animal was accepted by the family protector. These notes do not agree completely with those of Dom. Schröder in his very interesting article "Die Tierweihe," (*op. cit.*, 839). I write them down according to my notes which I checked many times, because the rite interested me very much.

According to the explanation of the Monguors the rite does not intend to make of the animal an "animal spirit"; the animal is not possessed by the spirit. The aim is to offer to the family protector an animal for which, if the spirit does not agree, a more valuable offer is substituted. When it agrees, however, they all cry: "The offer is accepted!" Because the animal is accepted by the spirit, it partakes of the respect of the family and prostrations are made to the spirit and to its animal. If the rite were a shamanistic rite, the shaman, who is always at hand, would certainly have been invited to perform it.[1]

Poor families must have their sacred animal also, and for this purpose they exceptionally use a rooster, very seldom a he-goat; the ritual for the consecration is the same. Every year, on the third of the New Year, the sacred animal is presented to the deity in the living room, washed, combed, and lavishly adorned with ribbons, while the family prostrates itself. If the sacred animal is a mule, it must be fed on that day with bread. Milk is poured on the animal only once, on the day of the consecration.

The rite must be very old, and must have belonged to a nomadic economy in which horses were offered. At present the rite continues to persist, but it is performed with other animals.[2]

Among the Mongols of Ordos, the rite of the sacred animal is well known and widely practiced today. The animal is consecrated to all kinds of deities, Chingis-

[1] Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Shamanismus der Alaren Burjaten, *Anthropos* 23: 938, 1928.

[2] It is worth while to note that the rites of the sacred animals of the communities and of the private families are performed on the Chinese New Year (which usually occurs in February) at the time the lambs are born, the happy time of the harvest of the nomads.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is performed in private families by lamas. Stallions are consecrated besides other animals.[3] The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors.

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.[4] Marco Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, notes the rites of the sacred animal—in this case a sheep.[5]

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.[6]

CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco-Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was butter.[7] This cult had already existed in the arctic culture, "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeine religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen."[8] Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.[9] It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.[10] Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.[11] Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally

[3] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos*, *op. cit.*, 1 seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel*, 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

[4] Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk*, 122, 1885.

[5] Yule-Cordier, 1: 207, 1929.

[6] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 315-322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* 1: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkhans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits, specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

[7] W. Koppers, Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde, *Anthropos* 30: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* 10: 70-76; 9: 228-241, 534-535.

[8] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 550.

[9] *Ibid.* 3: 555.

[10] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 136, 1925.

[11] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *op. cit.*, 214 and 239.

[p. 119(B)]